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THE SEMITIC IŠTAR CULT.

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§ 1. IŠTAR OF NINEVEH.

In classifying the great mass of material extant in the Assyrian language so as to determine what mentions of Ištar refer to the Ištar of Nineveh, what to the Ištar of Arbela, and what to the Ištar of Aššur, it is obvious that some canon of classification must be applied. Two different canons are conceivable. One would be to take some undoubted reference to the Ištar of a particular shrine, and with the characteristics of the goddess there pictured as a basis, refer to the goddess of that shrine all passages revealing like characteristics. The other would be to seek in every instance some historical guide. For example, when a king speaks of Ištar it may be considered probable that he refers to the Ištar worshipped at his capital unless he takes the pains to tell us that he refers to the Ištar of another shrine. The former of these principles is based on internal criticism, the latter on historical probability. The former assumes in advance that the characteristics of the gods are clearly defined and separate, the latter assumes that we do not know what their characteristics are or whether they overlap until the inscriptions reveal them to us. As a matter of fact the provinces of the gods in Assyria and Babylonia are not distinct. They often overlap each other. It has therefore seemed safest to assume that when any king refers to Ištar he means the Ištar of his capital city unless he otherwise states. This gives us a tangible rather than a speculative basis on which to rest, and in investigations of such antiquity such a basis should always be sought. This is the canon of classification applied in this and the following chapters.

We proceed first to collect the material referring to Ištar of Nineveh. The oldest mention which we can date is the hymn of Assurnasirpal son of Šamši-Raman, recently published by Brünnow.

PRAYER OF ASSURNASIRPAL SON OF ŠAMŠIRAMAN (cir. 1800 B. C.)*

Transliterated Text.

- 1 Ip-šit im-ḥu-ra-an-[ni...] amâti-*pl* ú-za-kar
- 2 a-na ba-na-at ni-mi-[ki...bi-lit ta-]na-da-a-ti
- 3 a-na a-ši-bat ĩ-bar-bar ilu...u-ša-pa zik-ri
- 4 a-na šar-rat ilâni-*pl* ša par-ši [ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* šu-ut-]lu-mu ға-tuš-ša
- 5 a-na bí-lit *alu* Nina sal...[ilâni]-*pl* ša-ku-tí
- 6 a-na binat *ilu* Sin ta-li-mat *ilu* Šam-ši ša (?) kul-lat šarru-ti ta-bí-íl
- 7 a-na pa-ri-sa-at purussi ila-at kal gim-ri
- 8 a-na bí-lit šam-i u irši-tim ma-ḥi-rat tiš-li-ti
- 9 a-na ši-ma-at iḳ-ri-bi li-ḳa-at un-ni-ni
- 10 a-na ila-tím rimi-ni-ti ša mi-ša-ra i-ra-am-mu
- 11 *ilu* Iš-tar mimma ša búl-lu-lu i-si-iḳ-ša
- 12 da-al-pa-a-tí mal a-tam-ma-ru mah-ra-ki a-bak-ka (?)
- 13 a-na at-mu-u-a šú-nu-ḥi lib-ša-a [u]-zu-un-ki
- 14 a-na zik-ri-ya šúm-ru-ši ka-bat-ta-ki lip-pa-šir
- 15 am-ri-in-ni bíltu ki-i su-uḥ-ḥu-ra-ki libba arad-ki lim-ra-aš
- 16 *m ilu* Aššur-naš-ir-apal ana-ku šúm-ru-šu arad-ki
- 17 šaḥ-tu pa-liḥ ilu-ti-ki pit-ḳu-ḏu na-ram-ki
- 18 mu-kin XIV *ilu* ištārâti-*pl*-ki la mu-par-ku-u na-di-nu zi-bi-ki
- 19 ḥa-ši-iḥ i-si-na-tí-ki mu-ša-az-ni-nu parakka-ki
- 20 mu-da-ḥi-id kurun-nam bi-bíl lib-bi-ki šá ta-ra-mi.
- 21 apal *m* Šam-ši *ilu* Raman šarri pa-liḥ ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl*.
- 22 ab-ba-ni-ma ina ḳi-rib šad-i ša la idu-šu-nu mamman
- 23 ul ḥa-sa-ku-ma bí-lut-ki ul ú-sap-pa-a ka-a-a-an
- 24 niši-*pl* *matu ilu* Aššur-*ki* ul i-da-ni-ma ul im-da-ḥa-ra ilu-ut-ki
- 25 at-ti-ma *ilu* Iš-tar ú-šúm-gal-lat ilani-*pl* ra-šub-ti
- 26 i-na ni-iš ini-ki tu-di-ni-ma taḥ-šú-ḥu bil-ú-ti
- 27 tal-ḳi-ni-ma ul-tu ḳi-rib šad-i a-na sip-pi niši-*pl* tab-bi-in-ni
- 28 tu-ki-in-ni *isu* ḥatta iš-ri-i-ti a-na li-tab-bur da-ád-mi
- 29 at-ti-ma *ilu* Iš-tar tu-ša-aš-ri-ḥi zik-ri
- 30 ta-ḳi-ši-ma ki-nu-ti šú-zu-ba ga-ma-lu,
- 31 ina pi-i-ki ú-ša-a ud-du-uš ilâni-*pl* na-aḳ-mu-ti
- 32 išriti-*pl* šu-uḥ-ḥa-a-tí ú-di-ša a-na-ku
- 33 ilâni-*pl* šul-pu-tu-ti ab-ni a-šar-šu-nu ut-tir
- 34 iš-ḳu-u XIV ištārâti-*pl* ú-kin-šu-nu a-na ša-a-ti
- 35 ú-ši-piš-ma *isu* irša *isu* urkarini ma'alu takni-í mu-šap-ši-iḥ ilu-ti-ki
- 36 ša ina ḥuraši liḳ-ti šú-su-mí í-tal-mu ḳi-rib-ša

* Cf. for the text, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. V., p. 79

PRAYER OF ASSURNASIRPAL SON OF ŠAMŠIRAMAN.

Translation.

- 1 "The thing he received from me . . . the words I relate
- 2 To the mother of wisdom . . . [the lady of] majesty
- 3 To her who dwells at Ibarbar, the goddess [who] made me renowned,
- 4 To the queen of the gods, into whose hands are delivered the commands of
the great gods,
- 5 To the lady of Nineveh . . . [of the gods], the exalted one,
- 6 To the daughter of Sin, the sister of Šamaš, who rules all kingdoms,
- 7 To her who determines decrees, the goddess of the universe,
- 8 To the lady of heaven and earth, who receives prayers,
- 9 To her who hears petitions, who heeds sighs,
- 10 To the merciful goddess, who loves justice,
- 11 Ištar—everything which is corrupted distresses her !
- 12 Afflictions as many as I see I bewail before thee !
- 13 To my sorrowful words may thy ears be inclined,
- 14 To my afflicted speech let thy heart be open,
- 15 Look on me, O Lady, thus may thy turning make glad thy servant's heart.
- 16 I am Assurnasirpal, thy afflicted servant,
- 17 Humble, worshipping thy divinity, provident, thy favorite,
- 18 Who set up thy fourteen goddesses, who without ceasing offers thy sacrifices,
- 19 Who desires thy shrines, who adorns thy sanctuary,
- 20 Who makes abundant the wine, the joy of thy heart, which thou lovest,
- 21 The son of Šamširaman, the king, the worshipper of the great gods.
- 22 I was begotten in the midst of mountains which no one knows.
- 23 I had no understanding, and to thy ladyship did not regularly pray,
- 24 The people of Assyria neither knew nor received thy divinity,
- 25 But thou, O Ištar, mighty princess (?) of the gods,
- 26 In the lifting up of thy eyes didst thou teach me and desired'st my lordship.
- 27 Thou didst take me from the mountains and call me to the threshold of the
people,
- 28 Thou didst establish for me the sceptre of the shrines for ever (lit. till the
growing old of the dwelling),
- 29 And thou, O Ištar, didst make great my name,
- 30 And thou hast given to the faithful salvation (and) reward.
- 31 It went forth from thy mouth to renew the burned gods,
- 32 The falling temples I renewed,
- 33 The overthrown gods I built up, I restored to their places ;
- 34 The fourteen goddesses were exalted, I established them for ever,
- 35 I made a bed of *urkarinu*-wood, a firm divan giving rest to thy divinity,
- 36 Whose interior was surrounded with gold adorned

- 37 ni-siḫ-ti abni-*pl* šad-i šú-ku-ru u-za-'a-in-ši ki-i..
 38 ú-lil-ši a-na šu-ub-bi-í ú-mal-ši.....
 39 ú-nam-mir-ši kima šaruri *ilu* Šam-ši a-[ši-i... ..
 40 ú-šar-ši-ši ina ʾl-bar-bar šú-bat la-li-ši.....
 41 [ina] mi-ni-í ú-kal-lil-ki-ma a.....
 42tu-man-ni-i-ma murša a-ta.....
 43buani-*pl* mu-ta.....
 44pi-riš-tu kit [-tu (?)].....

Reverse.

- 1*.....
 2 Ka-a-a-na-ma.....
 3 ina ma-ḥar ilu-ti-ki.....
 4 ki-i la pa-liḥ ilu-ti-ki ka(?)
 5 ki-i la ar-ši ar-ni ḥab-[la-ti].....
 6 gi-na-a šú-uš-ra-ku....
 7 par-sa-ku-ma ni-'i-lu ul a.....
 8 ina *isu* Kussi šarru-ti-ya ú-zi-im-ma
 9 nap-tan a-pa-ta-nu ul í-di-ḥa-a
 10 kurun-nam ša nap-la-ḥi a-na da-da-ri
 11 bit-nu-u rig-ma šúm-su-ka-ku si-mat,
 12 u ḥa-da-a balâti-*pl* zú-um-ma-ku
 13 ini-a-a bit-ru-ma-ma ul ú-šab-ba-a
 14 ul ú-ša-ḡa-a a-na í-li-ni pa-an ḡaḡ-ka-ri
 15 a-di ma-ti bíltu muršu la na-par-ku-u ḡal-ku si-ki-ya.
 16 ana-ku *m ilu* Aššur-naš-ir-apal šú-ud-lu-pu pa-liḥ-ki
 17 ša-bit ḡa-ni ilu-ti-ki mu-sa-pu-u bí-lut-ki
 18 nap-li-si-ni-ma ênta-ki lu-sa-ap-pi
 19 ša ti-zi-zi rimi-ni-ma ka-bat-ta-ki lip-pa-šir
 20 ga-ma-lu líb-ba-ki ili-ya lim-ra-aš
 21 šú-ši-i mur-ši šúm-si-ki ḡi-ti-ti
 22 ina pi-i-ki bíltu lim-ḡu-ta pa-ša-ḡi
 23 iššakka mi-ig-ra-ki ša la înu-u ka-a-a-an
 24 ri-ši-šú ri-í-mu da-lip-ta-šú ku-ur-di
 25 šab-ti a-bu-us-su a-na na-ra-mí-ki abi ilâni-*pl*....*ilu* Aššur
 26 [a-na] aḡ-rat û-mí lut-ta-'i-id [bi-lu]-ut-ki
 27lu-šar-ba-a ina..... ..šami u iršitim.
 ikal *m ilu* Aššur-bani-apal šarri kiššati šarri *matu ilu* Aššur *ki*. etc.

* The first line of the reverse is illegible.

- 37 With *nīšikti*-stones of the mountain, I adorned it (the statue) like . . .
 38 I made it beautifully bright. I filled it.
 39 I made it shine like the splendor of the rising (?) sun.
 40 I set it up (?) in Ibarbar, the dwelling of its might,
 41 In what have I wronged thee ?
 42 Why (?) hast thou appointed me disease ?
 43boils, pestilence.
 44fleeing away of faith.

Reverse.

- 2 Continually.
 3 Before thy divinity.
 4 As one who does not worship thy divinity [I am tortured]
 5 If I have not incurred sin and evil [why am I afflicted ?]
 6 In (my) foundations, I am unloosed.
 7 I am broken in pieces, rest (?) I [do not find (?)],
 8 On the throne of my kingdom I fasted,
 9 To the meal I had prepared I did not come near,
 10 The wine of the temple-service into gall
 11 Is changed, I am confused in (my) word, of the beauty
 12 And joy of life I am deprived.
 13 My eyes are sealed, I cannot see ;
 14 I do not lift them up above the face of the earth.
 15 How long, O lady, shall the disease without cessation destroy my members ?
 16 I, Assurnāširpal, sorely afflicted, thy worshipper,
 17 Who seizes the staff of thy divinity, who prays to thy ladyship,
 18 Be favorable to me, to thy mightiness let me pray,
 19 Because thou art strong pity me, let thy heart be open !
 20 Do good, let thy heart be grieved over me !
 21 Cause (my) sickness to go out, restrain (my) sin !
 22 From thy mouth, O lady, let my tranquility fall !
 23 The priest-king, thy favorite who never changes,
 24 Grant him mercy and strengthen his weakness,
 25 Intercede for him with thy beloved, the father of the gods. . . . Aššur !
 26 Unto future days let me exalt thy ladyship (?)
 27 . . .let me magnifyheaven and earth."

This is the oldest memorial we have of the Ištar of Nineveh. It professes to come from cir. 1800 B. C. The copy which we have comes from the library of Assurbanipal, and yet there is about the whole tablet an archaic style and coloring which points to a much higher antiquity for its origin. The occurrence of

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURNASIRPAL, 885-860 B. C.

- 1 (Cf. I R. 18. 1 (37) sq.) I-na bi-ib-lat lib-bi-ya u tir-ši kati-ya *ilu* Ištar bilit ramat šangu-ti-a lu-tam-gu-ra-ni-ma í-piš kabli u taḥazi libba-ša ub-la-ma.
-
- 2 (I R. 18. 70) Ina ki-bit *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Ištar ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* bíli-*pl*-a ištu *alu* Ni-nu-a a-tu-muš.
-
- 3 (I R. 25. 91) A-na *matu* Is-mí-iḥ-ri-*pl* a-lik. *Matu* Is-mí-iḥ-ri-*pl* ana si-ḥir-ti-ša ak-šud, *išu* gušûri-*pl* ša Is-mí-iḥ-ri-*pl* a-ki-si a-na *alu* Ni-nu-a ub-la a-na *ilu* Ištar bi-lat *alu* Ni-nu-a taḥti-ya aḫiṣ (?).
-

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SHALMANESER II., 860-825 B. C.

- 1 (Obelisk Ins. l. 13 sq.) *Ilu* Ištar riš-ti šami-í u irši-tí ša pa-an qar-du-tí šuk-lu-lat [ilâni]-*pl* rabûti-*pl* mu-ši-mu šimati-*pl* mu-šar-bu-ú šarru-ti-ya.
-
- 2 (III R. 7. 3) *Ilu* Ištar bi-lat kabli u taḥazi.
-

MENTIONS IN ŠAMŠI-RAMAN, 825-812 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 30. 13) Ina ki-bit *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Šamaš *ilu* Raman *ilu* Ištar ilâni-*pl* tik-li-a kima kil-liḥ-tú (?) a-na šipi-*pl*-a ik-nu-šu.
-

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SARGON, 722-705 B. C.

(This passage is found in Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* II. p. 29 pl. 62 l. 5 sq., also in the Sargon cylinder l. 69 pub. by Winckler op. cit. p. 43, and in Lyon's *Sargontexte*, p. 17. l. 86, 87.)

- 1 *Ilu* A-nu mu-šal-lim ip-šit ka-ti-ya *ilu* Iš-tar mu-šam-mí-ḥat, niši-*pl*-šu ni-bit abulli *ilu* A-num ù *ilu* Iš-tar ša ši-id aḫâri aš-ḫun.

šarru for king along with *patisi*, or as it is now read *iššakku* is so far as we know an anachronism in Assyria at 1800 B. C., and points to an editing of our hymn at a later date. Notwithstanding this the statements of the hymn must have been based on an older tradition, and for our purposes may be regarded as historical.

After this hymn we have no certain reference to the Ištar of Nineveh for nearly a thousand years. There are references to Ištar in a letter of Tushratta king of Metanni to Amenophis III. king of Egypt,* but we have no evidence that the Ištar of the shrine at Nineveh was in the writer's mind. The probabilities are that she was not.

Aššur-riš-iši, king of Assyria cir. 1150 B. C.† possibly refers to her in a wish expressed in a votive offering that Ištar may hear prayers, but it is not clear whether the Ištar in question is the Ištar of Nineveh or of Aššur. In either case the reference adds nothing to our knowledge of Ištar.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURNAŠIRPAL, 885-860 B. C.

- 1 "In the wish of my heart and the placing of my hand, Ištar, the lady who loves my priesthood favored me, and brought her heart to the accomplishment of battle and war."
- 2 "At the command of Aššur and Ištar, the great gods, my lords, I marched from Nineveh."
- 3 "Unto Ismikhri I went. Ismikhri to its farthest limits I conquered. Beams of Ismikhri I cut, unto Nineveh I brought, unto Ištar, lady of Nineveh my patroness I presented (?)."

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SHALMANESER II., 860-825 B. C.

- 1 "Ištar, the first born of heaven and earth who is perfect in bravery, who establishes the fates (and) enlarges my kingdom."
- 2 "Ištar the queen of fight and battle."

MENTIONS IN ŠAMŠI-RAMAN, 825-812 B. C.

- 1 "At the command of Aššur, Šamaš, Raman, Ištar, the gods my helpers, like . . . they submitted to my feet."

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SARGON, 722-705 B. C.

- 1 "For Anu who completes the work of my hand, and for Ištar who makes its people thrive I named the gates of Anu and Ištar on the west side."

* Cf. *PSBA.*, Vol. X. p. 560sq.

† Cf. III R. 3, No. 6.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SENNACHERIB, 705-681 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 41, 50) A-na-ku a-na *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Sin *ilu* Šamaš *ilu* Bil *ilu* Nabu *ilu* Nergal ⁵¹*ilu* Ištar ša Nina *ki ilu* Ištar ša *alu* Arba-ili ilâni-*pl* ti-ik-li-ya ⁵²a-na ka-ša-di *amilu* nakri dan-ni am-ḥur-šu-nu-ti-ma.

- 2 (Smith's *Sennacherib*, p. 140)—Nina-*ki* ma-ḥa-zu ši-i-ru alu na-ram *ilu* Iš-tar.

- 3 (Smith, op. cit. pp. 143, 144). Ikal maḥ-ri-tu ša IIIC LX ina ammat šaki i-na tar-ši za-mi-f *bitu* zig-gur-rat LXXX ina ammat rapašti i-na tar-ši biti na-ma-ri bit *ilu* Ištar.

- 4 IIC LXVIII ina suk-lum rabu-ti šak-ki kabli-tim mi-iḥ-rit za-mf-f ad-man-ni ku-tal *ilu* Iš-tar IIIC LXXXIII ina suk-lum rabu-ti šak-ki kab-litum ša-ni-tum mu-šat-ti ša-a-ri a-ḥar-ri ku-tal *bitu* zig-gu-rat bit *ilu* Iš-tar.

- 5 (Smith, op. cit., p. 155 sq.) ša *ilu* Aššur ù *ilu* Iš-tar a-na ri-f-um-tu mati ù niši-*pl* i-nam-bu-ú.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ESARHADDON, 681-668 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 45) ¹[Aššur-aḥi-iddi-na.....⁴ša ina tukulti *ilu* Aššur] *ilu* Sin *ilu* Šamaš ⁵*ilu* Nabu *ilu* Marduk *ilu* Ištar ša Nina-*ki* ⁶*ilu* Ištar ša Arba-ili-*ki* ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* bilî-*pl*-šu ⁷ul-tu ši-it *ilu* Šam-ši a-di í-rib *ilu* Šam-ši ⁸it-tal-lak-ú-ma ma-ḥi-ra la i-šu-u.

- 2 Cf. I R. 46. 38 (Col. IV.), III R. 15. 4 (Col. I.), III R. 15. 5 (Col. II.).

- 3 (I R. 47. Col. VI. 27 sq.) ²⁷*ilu* Aššur *ilu* Ištar ša Nina-*ki* ilâni-*pl* *matu* Aššur-*ki* ²⁸kali-šu-nu ina kir-bi-ša aḥ-ri-ma ²⁹*kirru* niḫi-*pl* taš-ri-iḥ-ti ib-bu-ti ³⁰ma-ḥar-šu-un aḥ-ki-ma ³¹ú-šam-ḥi-ra kad-ra-a-a ³²ilâni-*pl* ša-tu-nu ina ku-un lib-bi-šu-nu ³³iḫ-tar-ra-bu šarru-u-ti ³⁴*amilu* rabûti-*pl* u niši-*pl* mati-ya ka-li-šu-nu ³⁵ina ta-kul-ti u ki-ri-f-ti ³⁶ina *isu* pašûri ta-ši-la-a-ti ³⁷ki-rib-ša ú-ši-šib-ma.

- 4 (III R. 16, Col. VI. 14) ¹⁴ša *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Iš-tar ¹⁵a-na bí-lut mati u niši-*pl* i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu.

- 5 (III R. 16, Col. VI. 22) *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Iš-tar ik-ri-bi-ka i-šim-mu.

- 6 (III R. 15. 22) *ilu* Iš-tar bí-lit kabli taḥazi ra-ʾi-i-mat ša-an-gu-ti-ya ²³i-da-a ta-zi-iz-ma *isu* kašat-su-nu taš-bir, etc.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SENNACHERIB, 705-681 B. C.

- 1 "I prayed unto Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Bīl, Nabu, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the gods whom I trust, for the capture of my mighty foes."
-

- 2 "Nineveh the great fortress, the city beloved of Ištar."
-

- 3 "The former palace, which was 360 cubits long on the side of the enclosure of the tower, 80 cubits in breadth on the side of the brilliant temple, the temple of Ištar."

In Cylinder B. there is a variant to lines 50 and 51 of the inscription last quoted. Sennacherib is describing some land he reclaimed from the river Tibilti, and says :

- 4 "268 great cubits in length on the side before the temple the dwelling the *kutal* of Ištar, 383 great cubits in height in the second middle beginning (?) at the west of the tower of Ištar."
-

- 5 "Whom Aššur and Ištar for the government of the country and people shall name."
-

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ESARHADDON, 681-668 B. C.

- 1 "I am Esarhaddon.....who by the power of Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Nabu, Marduk, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the great gods my lords from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun marched without rival."
-

- 2 The point to be noted here is that Ištar of Nineveh is a goddess in Esarhaddon's pantheon. The same is true of the other references to that pantheon.
-

- 3 "Aššur (and) Ištar of Nineveh, the gods of Assyria, all of them into it (the palace) I invited; large pure sacrifices I offered before them, I presented my present. These gods in the faithfulness of their hearts drew near unto my royalty. The princes and people of my country all of them at the banquet and feast at the festive table in its midst I caused to sit," etc. A feast is then described.
-

- 4 "Whose name Aššur and Ištar for the sovereignty of the country and peoples shall name."
-

- 5 "Aššur and Ištar shall hear thy prayer."
-

- 6 "Ištar lady of onslaught and battle who loves my priesthood stood at my side and broke their bows."

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURBANIPAL, 668-626 B. C.

- 1 (V R. 1. 13 sq.) Ina í-piš pi-i mut-tal-li ša *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Bilit *ilu* Šin *ilu* Šamaš *ilu* Raman *ilu* Bil *ilu* Nabu *ilu* Ištar ša Nina-*ki* *ilu* Šar-rat kid-mu-ri *ilu* Ištar ša *alu* Arba-ili-*ki* *ilu* Adar *ilu* Nergal *ilu* Nusku iḫ-bu-ú ú-paḫ-ḫir niši-*pl* *matu* Aššur-*ki*.

- 2 Cf. also for the same pantheon V R. 1. 41 sq., V R. 2. 127 sq., V R. 3. 12 sq., V R. 3. 27 sq., V R. 4.46 sq., V R. 6. 126 sq., V R. 8. 19 sq., V R. 8. 52 sq., V R. 8. 73 sq., V R. 9. 61 sq., V R. 9. 97 sq., V R. 10. 33 sq., V R. 10. 60 sq., V R. 10. 118 sq. and Smith's *Assurbanipal*, pp. 95, 96.
- 3 (V R. 2. 107) *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Ištar ilâni-*pl* bili-*pl*-ya.
- 4 Cf. V R. 1. 56, V R. 4. 119, V R. 6. 71, V R. 7. 75, V R. 8. 17, V R. 8. 30. V R. 9. 6, V R. 9. 20, Smith's op. cit., p. 135.
- 5 V R. 1. 84) Nam-ri-ri *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma.
- 6 (V R. 2. 38.) Ina tukul-ti *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar iḫ-šu-du ḫata-a-a kaspā ḫuraša.
- 7 (V R. 3. 50.) Ul-tú *išu* Kakki-*pl* *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar íli *matu* Ilamti-*ki* ú-šam-ri-ru.
- 8 (V R. 5. 123.) Ina a-mat *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ša ú-ma-'í-f-ru-in-ni.
- 9 (V R. 5. 29) *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ša ida-a-a il-li-ku.
- 10 (V R. 4. 9.) Ina su-up-pi-í ša *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ú-sap-pu-u ¹⁰un-nin-ni-ya il-ḫu-u iš-mu-u zi-kir šapti-ya.
- 11 (V R. 5. 130.) Ina a-mat *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ki-rib ikallati-šu í-ru-ub.
- 12 (V R. 6. 56.) Ša ina ḫi-bit *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar í-pu-šu ardu-u-ti.
- 13 Cf. V R. 1. 39, V R. 2. 116, V R. 4. 21 and 33, V R. 5. 63 and 90 and 126, V R. 7. 10 and 13, and 53 and 70 and 104 and 107, V R. 9. 112 and 90, V R. 10. 7 and 19 and 22 and 109 and III R. 16, No. 4.
- 14 (V R. 10. 51 sq.) Nina-*ki* ⁵²alu ši-i-ru na-ram *ilu* Bilit (Variant Iš-tar.)

- 15 V R. 9. 87) *ilu* Bilit ḫa-rit-tú.

- 16 (V R. 9. 75) *ilu* Bilit ri-im-tú *ilu* Bil.

- 17 (V R. 10.24) ul-tu a-na na-dan(?) *kirru* niḫâni-*pl* í-lu-u ²⁵ina Í-bar-bar šu-bat bilu-ti-šu-un ²⁶ma-ḫar *ilu* Bilit ummi ilâni-*pl* rabûti *pl* ²⁷ḫi-ritu na-ram-ti *ilu* Aššur ²⁸í-pu-šu.
- 18 (I R. 7. AL.³ 121) ¹A-na-ku *m* *ilu* Aššur-bani-apli šarri kiššati šarri *matu* *ilu* Aššur-*ki* ša *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Bilit í-mu-ḫi ši-ra-a-ti ²u-šat-li-mu-uš niši-*pl* ša ad-du-ku *išu* mid-pa-a-nu iz-zi-tú ša *ilu* Ištar bí-lit taḫazi ³íli-šu-un az-ḫu-up muḫ-ḫu-ru í-li-šu-nu ú-ma-ḫir karânu aḫ-ḫa-a í-li-šu-un.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURBANIPAL, 668-626 B. C.

- 1 "To execute the exalted command which Aššur, Bilit, Sin, Šamaš, Raman, Bil, Nabu, Ištar of Nineveh, the Queen of Kid-muri, Ištar of Arbela, Adar, Nergal (and) Nusku commanded, he assembled the people of Assyria," etc.
-

The point of the foregoing quotation, as that of the numerous references under No. 2, is that Ištar of Nineveh was a goddess of Assurbanipal's pantheon.

- 3 "Aššur and Ištar the gods my lords."

In the foregoing and in all the references under No. 4, Aššur and Ištar are classified together as "the great gods my lords."

- 5 "The brilliance of Aššur and Ištar overthrew him."

- 6 "By the might of Aššur and Ištar my hand captured silver and gold."

- 7 "After I had caused the weapons of Aššur and Ištar to march over Elam."

- 8 "At the command of Aššur and Ištar who sent me."

- 9 "Aššur and Ištar who march at my side."

- 10 "In my prayers which I offered to Aššur and Ištar, my sighs they received, they heard the speaking of my lips."

- 11 "At the command of Aššur and Ištar I entered into his palaces."

- 12 "Who at the command of Aššur and Ištar became a servant" (lit. did service).
-

From these quotations and the references given under No. 13, it will be seen that the weapons, the government and the power of Assyria were ascribed to Aššur and Ištar, and all successes small and great were considered their gift.

- 14 "Nineveh, the lofty city beloved of Bilit (variant, Ištar)."

Hence Bilit is a synonym for, or title of Ištar, and we refer the following to her:

- 15 "Bilit the warriorress."

- 16 "Bilit the beloved of Bil."

Who Bil is, a succeeding chapter will reveal.

- 17 "Afterwards I arranged to offer pure sacrifices in I-bar-bar, the dwelling of their lordship, before Bilit, the mother of the great gods, the favorite spouse of Aššur."

- 18 "I am Assurbanipal, king of hosts, king of Assyria whom Aššur and Bilit made complete in lofty power. Over the lions which I killed, I lifted up the bow, the might of Ištar queen of battle. I offered over them a prayer. I poured wine over them."

- 19 (II R. 66. Sm. *Assurbanipal*, p. 303) ¹A-na Bilit bilit matâti a-ši-bat
 Ī-bar-bar *m ilu* Aššur-bani-apli šarri *matu ilu* Aššur-ki rubu pa-liḫ-
 ša ²šakkânâku bin-ut kati-ša, etc.....⁶ina ū-mi-šu kisal bit
ilu Ištar bilit-ya ina pi-í li-iš-ki ⁷ši-kit-ta-šu ú-rab-bi a-na šat-ti *ilu*
 Bilit. kisal šu-a-tú pan ma-ḫir-ši ⁸uk-ki. ya-a-ti *m ilu* Aššur-bani-
 apli pa-liḫ ilu-ú-ti-ki rabi-ti ba-laṭ u-mi araki-*pl* ṭaba lib-bi itti rig-
 ma ittaliku Ī-bar-bar lu-lab-bi-ra šipi-ya.

IŠTAR'S DESCENT.

(IV R. 31, Lenormant's *Choix Textes*, No. 30, AL³ p. 110 and Lyon's *Manual*.
 p. 63).

- 1 A-na mati la târat kaḫ-ka-ri i-ṭi-[i]
- 2 *ilu* Ištar binat *ilu* Sin ú-zu-un-ša iš-kun
- 3 iš-kun-ma binat *ilu* Sin ú-zu-un-[ša]
- 4 a-na bit í-ṭi-í šu-bat *ilu* Ir-kal-la
- 5 a-na biti ša í-ri-bu-šu la a-ṣu-u
- 6 a-na ḫar-ra-ni ša a-lak-ta-ša la ta-a-a-rat
- 7 a-na biti ša í-ri-bu-šu zu-mu-mu-ú nu-ú-ra
- 8 a-šar iprâti bu-bu-us-su-nu a-kal-šu-nu ṭi-iṭ-ṭu
- 9 nu-ú-ru ul im-ma-ru ina í-ṭi-ti aš-ba
- 10 lab-šu-ma kima iṣ-ṣu-ri šu-bat káp-pi.
- 11 ili *išu* dalti u *išu* sikkuri ša-pu-uḫ ip-ru
- 12 *ilu* Ištar a-na bab mati la târat ina ka-ša-di-ša
- 13 a-na *amīlu* ḫipi ba-a-bi a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar
- 14 *amīlu* ḫipi mí-í pi-ta-a ba-ab-ka
- 15 pi-ta-a ba-ab-ka-ma lu-ru-ba a-na-ku
- 16 šum-ma la ta-pat-ta-a ba-a-bu la ir-ru-ba a-na-ku
- 17 a-maḫ-ḫa-aṣ dal-tum sik-ku-ru a-šab-bir
- 18 a-maḫ-ḫa-aṣ si-ip-pu-ma u-šu-pal-kat *išu* dalâti-*pl*
- 19 u-ši-il-la-a mi-tu-ti akilûti-*pl* bal-ṭu-ti
- 20 ili bal-ṭu-ti i-ma'-a-du mi-tu-ti
- 21 *amīlu* ḫipu pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma i-ḫab-bi
- 22 iz-zak-ka-ra a-na rabi-ti *ilu* Ištar
- 23 i-zi-zi bi-il-ti la ta-na-ša-aš-ši
- 24 lu-ul-lik šum-ki lu-ša-an-ni a-na šar-ra-ti *ilu* Allati
- 25 i-ru-um-ma *amīlu* ḫipu iz-za-kar-[ra].....
- 26 an-ni-tu mí-í a-ḫa-ta-ki *ilu* Iš-tar.....

- 19 "To Bilit, lady of countries who dwells at Ibarbar, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the prince, her worshipper, the mighty man, the creature of her hand, etc.....At that time an altar (?) of the house of Ištar my lady of *pi-i* stone I set up. Its work I elaborated for the pleasure (?) of Bilit. That altar (?) before her I placed. (To) me Assurbanipal, the worshipper of thy great divinity give a life of long days (and) goodness of heart. With a cry walking to and from Ibarbar may my feet grow old."

In confirmation of the identification of Ištar and Bilit made above it will be noticed that the two names are used interchangeably here in reference to one and the same goddess.

IŠTAR'S DESCENT.*

- 1 "Unto the country without return, the land of darkness
- 2 Ištar, daughter of Sin, set her ear.
- 3 The daughter of Sin set her ear
- 4 Unto the house of darkness, the dwelling of Irkalla,
- 5 Unto the house whose entrance has no exit,
- 6 Along the way whose going has no return,
- 7 Unto the house whose entrance is bereft of light,
- 8 Where dust is their food, their sustenance clay,
- 9 Light they do not see, in darkness they dwell,
- 10 They are clothed like birds (with) a garment of wings,
- 11 Over door and bolt the dust is spread.
- 12 Ištar, when she approached the gate of the land without return;
- 13 To the keeper of the gate addresses a word:
- 14 'Keeper of the waters open thy gate,
- 15 Open thy gate—I will enter!
- 16 If thou dost not open thy gate (so that) I can enter,
- 17 I will shatter the door, I will break the bolt,
- 18 I will break the threshold and shiver the doors;
- 19 I will raise up the dead to eat and live,
- 20 The dead will outnumber the living.'
- 21 The keeper opened his mouth and speaks,
- 22 He says to the princess Ištar:
- 23 'Stay, O lady, do not remove it (the door),
- 24 I will go (and) announce thy name to the queen Allat.'
- 25 The keeper entered and announces (to Allat)
- 26 'This water thy sister Ištar [has crossed]

* I refer this poem to the Ištar of Nineveh, as she is the only Ištar of whom it is said that she is the daughter of Sin and the sister of Šamaš. As the colophon of the tablet gives no hint of the place of composition, that point has to be decided on the evidence of the mythology.

- 27 mid *-gil-tu ša kip-pi-i rabûti-*pl* da.....
 28 *ilu* Allatu an-ni-ta i-[na ši-mi-ša]
 29 ki-ma ni-kis *isu* tap-pu i-ru.....
 30 ki-ma ša-baṭ ku-ni-ni iz-li.....
 31 mi-na-a lib-ba-ša ub-la-a-ni mi-na-a kab
 32 an-ni-tu mî-î a-na-ku it-ti.....
 33 ki-ma rihši-*pl* mili-im ki-ma šikari(?)*-pl*. mili ma'di.....
 34 lu-ub-ki a-na itli-*pl* ša i-zi-bu *sal* hi-[ra-ti-šu-un]
 35 lu-ub-ki a-na *šal* ardâti-*pl* ša ištu šun *amilu* ḥa-i-ri-ši-[na].
 36 a-na *amilu* sihîrûti la-ki-i lu-ub-ki ša ina la umi-*pl*-šu tar.....
 37 a-lik *amilu* kipu pi-ta-aš-ši ba-ab-[ka]
 38 up-pi-is-si-ma ki-ma parši-*pl* la-bi-ru-[ti]
 39 il-lik *amilu* kipu ip-ta-aš-ša ba-ab-[šu]
 40 ir-bi bî-îl-ti Kutu-*ki* li-riš-[ma].
 41 ikal mati la târât li-iḥ-du ina pa-ni-ka
 42 išt-in baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal aga raba-a ša ḳaḳḳadi-ša,
 43 am-mî-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal aga raba-a ša ḳaḳḳadi-ya.
 44 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ša.
 45 šana-a baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal in-ša-ba-ti ša uz-ni-ša.
 46 am-mî-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal in-ša-ba-ti ša uz-ni-ya.
 47 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ḳi-a-am parši-*pl*-ša
 48 šal-šu baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal *abnu* niri-*pl* ša kišadi-ša,
 49 am-mî-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal *abnu* niri-*pl* ša kišadi-ya.
 50 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ša
 51 rib-u baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal du-di-na-ti ša irti-ša
 52 am-mî-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal du-di-na-ti ša irti-ya.
 53 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ḳi-a-am parši-*pl*-ša
 54 ḥaš-šu baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal šib-bu *abnu* yaraḥu ša ḳabli-
pl-ša.
 55 am-mî-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal šib-bu ša *abnu* yaraḥu ša ḳabli-*pl*-ya.
 56 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ša.
 57 šitti-šu baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal šimiri-*pl* ḳati-ša u šipi-ša,
 58 am-mî-ni *amilu* kipu ta-at-bal šimiri-*pl* ḳati-ya u šipi-ya
 59 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ša
 60 sib-u baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal šu-bat šapil-ti ša zu-um-ri-ša.

* According to Jeremias.

- 27 As a visitor (?) of the great fountains (?).....'
 28 When Allat heard this,
 29 Like the cutting of a *tap-pu* tree, she.....
 30 Like the destruction of the *kurinni* reed.....
 31 'What has her heart brought to me? What.....
 32 These waters I with.....
 33 Like the overflowings of a flood, like the rushing waters of a great flood....
 34 I will weep for men who have left their wives,
 35 I will weep for the handmaids taken from the bosom of their husbands.
 36 For the little children I will weep who out of their time.....
 37 Go, keeper, open thy gate to her,
 38 Do to her according to the ancient commands.'
 39 The keeper went and opened to her his door:
 40 'Enter, O lady, may *Kutu* (i. e. the underworld) rejoice,
 41 May the palace of the land without return be glad in thy presence,'
 42 He made her enter the first gate and approached (?) (her and) took away the
 great crown of her head.
 43 'Why, O, Keeper, dost thou take away the great crown of my head?'
 44 'Enter, O lady, because Allat—such are her commands.'
 45 The second gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away
 the ornaments of her ears.
 46 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the ornaments of my ears?'
 47 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
 48 The third gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away the
 necklace of her neck.
 49 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the necklace of my neck?'
 50 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
 51 The fourth gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away
 the clothing of her breast.
 52 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the clothing of my breast?'
 53 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
 54 The fifth gate he made her enter and approached her (?) (and) took away the
 gemmed girdle from her waist.
 55 'Why, O keeper dost thou take away the gemmed girdle of my waist?'
 56 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
 57 The sixth gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away the
 bracelets of her hands and feet.
 58 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the bracelets of my hands and feet?'
 59 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
 60 The seventh gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away
 the cincture of her loins.

- 61 am-mí-ni *amílu* kipu ta-at-bal šu-bat šapil-ti ša zu-um-ri-ya.
 62 ir-bi bí-íl-ti ša Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ša.
 63 iš-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma *ílu* Iš-tar a-na mati la târat u-ri-du
 64 *ílu* Allatu i-mur-ši-ma ina pa-ni-ša ir-'u-ub
 65 *ílu* Ištar ul im-ma-lik í-li-nu-uš-ša uš-bi
 66 *ílu* Allatu pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma i-ḫab-bi
 67 a-na *ílu* Nam-tar šukalli-ša a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar,
 68 a-lik *ílu* Nam-tar.....ya-ma
 69 šu-ša-aš-ši ana šu-lim.....*ílu* Ištar
 70 muruš ina.....ša
 71 muruš a-ḫi.....ša
 72 muruš šipi a.....ša
 73 muruš lib-bi a.....
 74 muruš kaḫḫadi ḫal.....
 75 a-na ša-a-ša gab-bi-ša-ma a-na.....
 76 ar-ki *ílu* Iš-tar bí-íl-ti.....
 77 a-na pur-ti alpu ul i-šaḫ-ḫi-[it atana imiru ul u-ša-ra]
 78 ar-da-tum [ina šuḫi ul u-ša-ra ít-lu]
 79 it-til ít-[lu i-na ṭi-(mi)-šu].....
 80 [it-til ar-da-tum i-na a-ḫi.....ša

Reverse.

- 1 *ílu* Pap-sukkal ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* gu-ud-du-ud ap-pa-šu pa-nu....
 2 kar-ru la-biš ma-li-í na.....
 3 il-lik *ílu* Šamaš i-na pa-an *ílu* Sin abi-šu i.....
 4 i-na pa-an *ílu* Ea šarri il-la-ka di-ma-a... ..
 5 *ílu* Iš-tar a-na irši-tim u-rid ul i-la-a
 6 ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma *ílu* Iš-tar a-na mati la târat u-ri-du
 7 a-na pur-ti alpu ul i-šiḫ-ḫi-it imiru atana ul u-ša-ra
 8 ar-da-tum ina šuḫi ul u-ša-ra [it-]lu,
 9 it-til it-lu i-na ṭi-[mi]-šu,
 10 it-til ar-da-tum i-na a-ḫi.....ša
 11 *ílu* Ea ina im-ḫi lib-bi-šu ib-ta-ni [zik]-ru
 12 ib-ni-ma *m* Ud-du-šu-na-mir *amílu* as-sin-nu
 13 al-ka *m* Ud-du-šu-na-mir i-na bab mati la târat šu-kun pa-ni-ka
 14 siba babâni mati la târat lip-pi-[ti] i-na pa-ni-ka,
 15 *ílu* Allatu li-mur-ka-ma i-na pa-ni-ka li-ih-du,
 16 ul-tu lib-ba-ša i-nu-uh-ḫu kab-[ta]-as-sa ip-pi-rid-du-u,
 17 tum-mí-ši-ma šum ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl*.

- 61 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the cincture of my loins?'
- 62 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
- 63 As soon as Ištar had descended to the land without return,
- 64 Allat saw her and became enraged,
- 65 Ištar was not wise, she let loose upon her—
- 66 Allat opened her mouth and spoke,
- 67 To Namtar, her messenger she addressed a word:
- 68 'Go Namtarmyand
- 69 Bring her forth for seizing*Ištar,
- 70 With disease of the eyes[smite] her,
- 71 With disease of the side[smite] her,
- 72 With disease of the feet[smite] her,
- 73 With disease of the heart [smite her]
- 74 With disease of the head [smite her]
- 75 Upon her whole person [put disease]
- 76 After Ištar the lady [had descended to Hades]
- 77 With the cow the bull would not unite, nor the ass approach the she-ass,
- 78 A maid on the street did not approach a gentleman,
- 79 The gentleman slept at his command
- 80 The maid slept at the side of her

Reverse.

- 1 Pap-sukal, the messenger of the great gods bowed his face before (Šamaš)
- 2 Clad in mourning filled with
- 3 Šamaš went before Sin his father
- 4 Before Ea, the king, his tears flowed.
- 5 'Ištar went down into the earth and has not come up,
- 6 From the time when Ištar descended to the land without return,
- 7 With the cow the bull has not united, nor the ass approached the she-ass,
- 8 The maid does not approach the gentleman in the street,
- 9 The gentleman falls asleep at his command,
- 10 The maid falls asleep at the side of her
- 11 Ea in the wisdom of his heart created a man,
- 12 He created Uddušunamir, the servant of the gods.
- 13 'Go Uddušunamir, toward the land without return set thy face,
- 14 Let the seven gates of the land without return be opened before thy face,
- 15 Let Allat see thee and rejoice in thy presence,
- 16 After her heart is at rest and her wrath appeased,
- 17 Conjure her also by the name of the great gods,

* V R. 47. 46 has šu-lim = i-kim-mu.

- 18 šu-ki ƙaƙƙadi-*pl*-ka a-na su-ħal zi-ki uz-na šu-kun,
 19 í bî-íl-ti su-ħal zi-ku lid-nu-ni mî-*pl* ina lib-bi lu-ul-ta-ti,
 20 *ilu* Allatu an-ni-ta ina šî-mî-ša,
 21 tam-ħa-aš šuna-ša taš-šu-ka u-ba-an-ša,
 22 tí-tir-ša-an-ni í-rîš-tum la í-ri-ši,
 23 al-ka *m* Ud-du-šu-na-mir lu-zir-ka iṣ-ra raba-a,
 24 riḥši-*pl* *isu* narṭâbi-*pl* ali a-kal-ka,
 25 *karpanu* ħa-ba-na-at ali ma-al-ti-it-ka
 26 *isu* šil duri lu-u man-za-zu-ka
 27 as-kup-pa-tu lu mu-ša-bu-ú-ka
 28 sak-ru u za-mu-u lim-ħa-šu li-it-ka
 29 *ilu* Allatu pa-a-ša i-pu-uš-ma i-ħab-bi
 30 a-na *ilu* Nam-tar šukalli-ša a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar
 31 a-lik *ilu* Nam-tar ma-ħa-aš ikal kitti
 32 *abnu* askuppâti-*pl* ša-a i-na-ša arî(?)*-pl*,
 33 *ilu* A-nun-na-ki u-ši-ša-a i-na *isu* kussi ħuraši šu-šib.
 34 *ilu* Ištar mî-*pl* balaṭi su-luḥ-ši-ma li-ka-aš-ši [ina maḥ]-ri-ya
 35 il-lik *ilu* Nam-tar im-ħa-aš ikal kitta
 36 *abnu* askuppâti-*pl* u-ša-a i-na-ša *abnu* arî(?)*-pl*
 37 *ilu* A-nun-na-ki u-ši-ša-a ina *isu* kussi ħuraši u-ši-šib
 38 *ilu* Iš-tar mî-*pl* balaṭi is-luḥ-ši-ma il-ka-aš-ši
 39 išt-in baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši šu-bat šupil-ti ša zu-um-ri-ša
 40 šana-a baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši šî-mir ƙati-ša u šîpi-ša,
 41 šal-šu baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši šib-bu *abnu* yaraḥu ša ƙabli-*pl*-ša,
 42 ribu-u baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši du-di-na-ti ša irti-ša,
 43 ħaš-šu baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši niri-*pl* ša ƙišadi-ša,
 44 šitti-šu baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši in-ša-ba-ti ša uzni-ša,
 45 sib-u baba u-ši-ši-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši a-gu-u ra-ba-a ša ƙaƙƙadi-ša.
 46 šum-ma nap-ṭi-ri-ša la ta-ad-di-nak-kan-ma a-na ša-ša-ma tir....
 47 a-na *ilu* Duzu ħa-mir ši-iḥ-ru-[ti-ša]
 48 mî-*pl* íl-lu-ti ra-am-mi-ik samna ṭaba.....
 49 ħuššu lu-ub-bis-su imbu-bu *abnu* ukni lim-kut(?)

- 18 Lift up thy head to the source of the waters (?) fix thy purpose, (say)
 19 O lady do not stop the source of the flood (?) the waters in its midst I will
 drink.'
- 20 Allat, when she heard this,
 21 Smote her thigh, she bit her finger (and said),
 22 'Thou hast made of me a request not to be made,
 23 Go, Uddūšunamir, I will shut thee up in the great prison,
 24 The mire of the city shall be thy food,
 25 The sewers of the city shall be thy drink,
 26 The shadow of the dungeon shall be thy dwelling,
 27 The threshold shall be thy seat,
 28 Prison and confinement shall shatter thy strength.'
- 29 Allat opened her mouth and spoke,
 30 Unto Namtar, her messenger, a word she uttered ;
 31 'Go, Namtar, break open the eternal palace,
 32 Overturn the stones which support the threshold (?)
 33 Bring out the Anunaki, seat them on the golden throne,
 34 Over Ištar sprinkle the waters of life, and bring her before me.'
- 35 Namtar went, he struck open the eternal palace
 36 He overturned the stones which supported the threshold (?)
 37 The Anunaki he brought, on the golden throne he seated them,
 38 He sprinkled Ištar with the water of life and brought her out.
 39 He brought her through the first gate and restored to her the cincture of her
 loins.
- 40 He brought her through the second gate and restored to her the bracelets of
 her hands and feet.
- 41 He brought her through the third gate and restored to her the gemmed girdle
 of her waist.
- 42 He brought her through the fourth gate and restored to her the clothing of
 her breast.
- 43 He brought her through the fifth gate and restored to her the necklace of her
 neck.
- 44 He brought her through the sixth gate and restored to her the ornaments of
 her ears.
- 45 He brought her through the seventh gate and restored to her the great crown
 of her head.'
- (End of the legend : Priest begins :—)
- 46 'If she does not grant to thee her release, turn to her (again).
 47 Unto Tammuz the husband of her youth,
 48 Pour out the clear water, the good oil.....
 49 With costly clothing clothe him, a flute of lapis-lazuli may he play (?)

- 50u-ḥa-ti li-na-'a-a kab-ta.....
 51 [lim-ḥa-aš] *ilu* Bi-li-li šu-ḡat-ta u-šak.....
 52 *abnu* inî-pl-ti ma-la-a bir.....
 53 ik-kil a-ḡi-ša taš-mi tam-ḥa-aš *ilu* Bi-li-li šu-kut-ta ša.....
 54 *abnu* inî-pl-ti un-tal-la-a pa-an.....
 55 a-ḡi i-du la ta-ḡab-bîl-an-[ni]
 56 ina ū-mi *ilu* Duzu il-la-an-ni imbubu *abnu* ukni GUR *abnu* santu it-ti-
 šu ū-la-an-ni
 57 it-ti-šu ū-la-an-ni *amîlu* A-TI-pl u *šal* A-TI-pl.
 58 ina *îsu* nutabi li-lu-nim-ma tur-ri-in li-iš-ši-nu.

This poem, though put at the end of the material from the reign of Assurbanipal, is probably by no means the latest in time of composition of the literary references to Ištār we have examined. The copies we have of it come, however, from the library of Assurbanipal, and being unable to assign its composition to a definite era, I have placed the poem with the material from his reign. We may sketch the worship of Ištār of Nineveh historically, then, as follows :

If not first introduced into Assyria at that time, her worship received a great impetus from Aššurnāširpal I, about 1800 B. C. His language leaves us in doubt at first whether to adopt the former of these possibilities or not. In line 24 of his hymn he distinctly says, "the people of Assyria neither knew nor received thy divinity." This, however, may be nothing more than poetical hyperbole, and lines 31-33,

"It went forth from thy mouth to renew the burned gods,

"The falling temples I renewed,

"The overthrown gods I built up, I restored to their places,

lead us to think that the other is but poetical exaggeration. There had evidently been in Assyria before temples and images of the goddess.* These had been burned, and her shrines had lain waste for a time and her supremacy partly forgotten, until Assurnāširpal rebuilt her temples, restored her images, and recalled her devotees to their allegiance.

This accords with what we should expect. It would be inconceivable that a Semitic goddess whose worship was so widely extended, and so prominent in Babylonia, should have ever been unknown to the Assyrians, a people who separated from the Babylonians at so late a date ; but that in the fortunes of war her

*My friend, Professor Herman V. Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, informs me that he connects the name Ninever with the name Nana, an old name for Ištār, and thinks the worship of this goddess was introduced into Nineveh about 2800 B. C. I do not know the line of reasoning by which he reaches this conclusion; for this the reader is referred to Professor Hilprecht's *Etymology of Nineveh*, soon to be published.

- 50 May the Uḫati wail with heavy (wailing),
 51 May the goddess Bilili break the furniture of.....
 52 With diamonds shall the.....be full,'
 (Narrative).
 53 The wailing of her brother she heard, Bilili broke the furniture of.....
 54 With diamonds was filled the.....
 (Voice from the dead)
 55 'My only brother, do thou not injure me.
 56 On the day of Tammuz play for me the lapis-lazuli flute, play for me the
 santu flute!
 57 At that time play for me, wailing men, and wailing women,
 58 On *nutabi* instruments play, let them breathe incense.' "
-

temples should be destroyed, and her worship in consequence be largely neglected till some leader arose to rebuild her shrines is not only highly probable but it seems historically true.

Assurnaširpal was, perhaps, the first one to build a temple for Ištar in Nineveh itself, but even of that his language leaves us in doubt.

We may, however, infer from his hymn that in 1800 B. C. Ištar was one of the chief deities of Nineveh. Not a supreme deity, however, as she is asked to intercede with Aššur as though he were the chief divinity. She is regarded as Aššur's wife, and undoubtedly stood next to him in the popular estimation.

As has been noted above from 1800-885 B. C. we have no certain mention of Ištar of Nineveh. During a part of that time the seat of government was at Aššur, so that the Ištar of that city naturally appears in the royal annals rather than the Ištar of Nineveh. The lack of reference to her for so long a time, however, is owing probably to the paucity of extant documents referring to this period.

It was noted above that in Assurbanipal there is evidence that Bilit and Ištar of Nineveh are identical, or to state it more accurately Bilit was at first a mere epithet of Ištar, who all through Assurnaširpal's hymn is addressed as *Biltu*, and that afterwards the line of separation between Bilit as an epithet of Ištar and Bilit as a separate divinity became very indistinct and fluctuating so that now the two names were supposed to refer to the same, and now to different deities. As we shall see hereafter the same thing happened in the case of the Assyrian Bil, the Babylonian Bil, and the Phoenician Baal.

On this ground the following expression of Tiglath-pileser I (cir. 1100 B. C.) may perhaps refer to Ištar of Nineveh—"Bilit the exalted spouse, the beloved of Aššur my lord." (Cf. I R. 12. 34, 35.)

Be this as it may, when Ištar of Nineveh reappears in the royal annals in the reign of Assurnaširpal II. (885-860 B. C.), she is still classed with Aššur as one of

the two first gods of the land. Aššur and Ištar are for him "the great gods my lords."

In the reigns immediately following she is less often referred to, and it would seem that if her worship did not decline among the people it was less esteemed by the reigning princes. Though Shalmaneser, Shamshi-raman and Sargon all mention her, and in terms of the highest reverence, it is not until Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.) that we find her classed with Aššur as one of the two chief deities. The mere absence of such mention, however, does not imply that she had ever really lost that place.

Under the Sargonidae, moreover, her worship received a new impulse, and underwent a great revival, which culminated in the reign of Assurbanipal. While Sennacherib revives the old custom of referring to her as one of the two chief deities, the mentions of her in Esarhaddon are still more frequent and explicit, and his great son Assurbanipal refers to her more often than all his predecessors together, and in a way that reveals a very great reverence for her.

Thus the worship of Ištar of Nineveh appears most clearly at the two extremes of Assyrian history, its dawn and its brilliant sunset.

As to the form assumed by the Ištar cult at Nineveh we have a few indications. When first we have mention of her, she is "the one who inhabits I-bar-bar," the house of heavenly dominion(?) which was situated near the river Tibilti and the spot where Sennacherib built his palace which Assurbanipal remodelled and repaired. This temple when first mentioned (cir. 1800 B. C.) has its interior adorned with gold. This then is no primitive sanctuary of a rude tribe, but the splendid temple of a nation considerably advanced in the arts of life. In the reign of Assurnasirpal II., a thousand years later, beams of wood were brought from the country of the Ismikhri to repair this temple, and 200 years later Assurbanipal adds an elaborate altar. When first we are introduced to this temple, moreover, a bed of some costly wood is mentioned, which is described as a *ma'alu tak-ni-i*, (a firm divan) which gives rest to her divinity. For what it was used we are left to conjecture. It seems probable, however, that at public feasts the image of the goddess reclined on it as the Roman gods reclined at their *lectisternia*. It may, however, have been connected with some obscene rite in the Ištar worship, though we have no evidence of the existence of such rites at Nineveh. Assurnasirpal I. again boasts that with precious stones he adorned the statue(?) of the goddess, and that he had set up the fourteen goddesses connected with her. As Brünnow suspects, these fifteen images seem to have some connection with the well-known ideogram of Ištar.

As to the ritual connected with this temple we have little information. That wine was an important element in it seems clear both from Assurnasirpal's boast that he had made "abundant the wine, the joy of thy heart, which thou lovest," and his complaint that for him the "wine of the temple service into gall was

changed." Esarhaddon tells us that he offered large pure sacrifices before Aššur and Ištar. This was not done in the temple, however, but in his palace at its dedication, when he made a great feast for the princes and people of his realm.*

Aššurbanipal again tells us that at the close of the Arabian campaign he offered pure sacrifices in I-bar-bar, Ištar's own temple. This, however, was no ordinary occasion. It was a thanksgiving for a great triumph. Four fallen kings drew the monarch's triumphal car, and the whole proceeding was conducted with no ordinary pomp (cf. V R. 10. 13-39). The mention of pure sacrifices both by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, although in Assyrian different words are used by the two kings to convey the idea (Esarhaddon using *ibbuti* and Aššurbanipal *iū*) seems to point to a distinction between clean and unclean beasts as regards sacrifice. What this distinction was we can only conjecture. Perhaps the use of *kirru*, lamb as the regular determinative before the word for sacrifice gives us a hint toward the solution of this point.

As to the use of wine in Ištar worship, we gain some light from Aššurbanipal's hunting inscription quoted above, p. 140, especially when taken in connection with the bas-relief which it explains. The king stands before an altar and pours out the wine as a libation to the goddess, in thanksgiving for his victory in the chase.

From the mention in Ištar's Descent of the "Day of Tammuz," and the request there made that the wailing men and women would wail for some one, it is certain that the Tammuz myth was known at Nineveh, and that the days of wailing for him were observed there. Obscure as the concluding lines of the poem which contain this request are, it is certain from the tone of the request that this was a day of especial worship in which Ištar was peculiarly interested. It may well have been that there were especial feast days too, when especial sacrifices were offered to Ištar as we shall see was the case in Cyprus and Sicily. From Assurbanipal's wish that his feet might grow old going to and from I-bar-bar there would seem to have been some regular service to the goddess there.

There is, however, clear evidence that sacrifice to her was not confined to the temple precincts as in the case of the second Jewish temple, but that sacrifices were offered to her at feasts, somewhat as they were to Yahweh in the days of Amos and Hosea. In addition to sacrifice wine was poured out in libation evidently with the thought that thus the goddess drank it and her heart was made glad.

The kings speak of themselves as priests, and Assurnasirpal II. speaks of Ištar as loving his priesthood, but we have no evidence of an organized priesthood of Ištar at Nineveh, although undoubtedly such a priesthood existed. There is, moreover, no evidence that the ritual of sacrifice contained any special rubric for the priest.

* It is possible, however, that the temple was at the palace entrance.

Sacrifice, as it appears to us from the inscriptions, was a joyous feast, where a part of the viands were offered to the god, a thanksgiving libation for success in the chase or a thanksgiving offering for victory in war.

Both in Assurnasirpal's hymn and in Istar's Descent, Istar is mythologically represented as the daughter of Sin and the sister of Šamaš. In the hymn, moreover, and in the historical inscriptions she is represented as the wife or beloved of Aššur, while the Descent refers to Tammuz as the husband of her youth. This variation at Nineveh in the representations of Istar's conjugal relations is an interesting point. It indicates that the Assyrians brought the Tammuz myth to Assyria with them, and then feeling the necessity of a union between their national god and their chief goddess, they produced, in course of time, the conception that she was the wife of Aššur. That they could, in spite of this, retain the old representation is but a reflection of the old polyandrous characteristics of Istar which we shall discuss in a future section.

The religious conceptions embodied in the worship of Istar at Nineveh are revealed to us in numerous epithets.

First. She is the goddess of productivity—of sexual feeling. When she descends to the lower world all sexual desire ceases both in man and beast. (Whence the myth of her descent arose we shall discuss more fully in the concluding paragraph). She herself is called the firstborn of heaven and earth, and for Sargon was the goddess "who makes the people thrive."

Secondly. She is a great mother goddess; she is called the "mother of the great gods," and "the mother of wisdom."

Thirdly. She is a queen—"queen of the gods"—"lady of majesty"—"the exalted one of the gods"—"the one who determines decrees"—"the goddess of the universe"—"the lady of heaven and earth."

Fourthly. She is in especial relationship to the people of Nineveh. She is the "lady of Nineveh" and "Nineveh is the city beloved of Istar."

Fifthly. This relationship makes her take the deepest interest in the life of its people, so that with Aššur her husband she exerts her power to reduce to servitude the enemies of her servants, to send forth her devotees on their campaigns, to march at their side, to give them wealth and by her brilliance to aid in subduing all their foes.

Sixthly. As a direct result of the last conception Istar becomes a warrior goddess who "brings her heart to the accomplishment of battle and war," who is a "warrioress," who is "perfect in bravery," and who is the "queen of fight and battle."

Seventhly. She is the goddess who loves justice (*mi-šar-ra*).

Eighthly. She is the "merciful goddess" who is "distressed by all that is corrupted" or goes wrong.

All these conceptions are clearly defined in the inscriptions. It is not our purpose here to attempt to account for them or to trace them to their source. We leave that to a future section.

We may note here, however, that in spite of all the noble conceptions of Ištar she is not the supreme divinity, but Assurnasirpal I. prays that she will intercede for him with Assur her beloved, the father of the gods. This is a distinct mark of the religious conceptions of the times.

We have in these inscriptions in addition to the epithets of the goddess one indication of the nature of the conception of the supernatural at Nineveh. Esarhaddon tells us that he invited (*aḫ-ri*) Aššur and Ištar into his palace to a feast. This indicates that as late as his day the gods were conceived as of such a nature that they could share a feast with their worshippers, and that their worshippers were upon such good terms with them that the gods would thus meet them; for he tells us "that these gods in the faithfulness of their hearts drew near to my royalty." It was perhaps for some such occasion as this that the couch and divan mentioned by Assurnasirpal were provided.

This conception was, in all probability, but a survival in Esarhaddon's time from an earlier and cruder age.

Worthy of note also from a religious point of view is the tone of Assurnasirpal's hymn given above. Its exaltation of the deity, its fervor, its religious depth, its recognition of the dependence of man upon the divine, its confidence that the deity can dispell all sorrows, and that all will be well when to the human servant's cry the divine heart is open, remind us strongly of some strains in the Jewish psalter, and are certainly most remarkable.

§ 2. IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN RAMAN-NIRARI I. CIR. 1325 B. C.

- 1 (IV R. 44. 10) *ma-al-ki ù rabûti-pl. ¹¹ilu A-nu ilu Aššur ilu Šamaš ilu Raman ¹²ù ilu Ištār a-na ši-pi-šu ú-ši-ik-ni.*

- 2 (IV R. 45. 29) *ilu A-nu ilu Bīl ilu Ea ù ilu Ištār³⁰ ilāni-pl rabûti-pl.*

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN TIGLATH-PILESER I. CIR. 1100 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 9. 13) *ilu Ištār riš-ti ilāni-pl bī-lit tí-ši-í mu-šar-ri-ḥat ḫabli-pl-tí.*

- 2 (I R. 12. 34) *šá al-ka-a a-na ú-tu-'u-ut bit ilu Bīlit ³⁵hi-ir-tí rabi-tí na-šad-di ilu A-šur bīli-ya³⁶ ilu A-nim ilu Raman ilu Ištār a-šu-ri-tí ³⁷kur-pl-at ali-ya ilu A-šur ³⁸u ištārâ-pl-at mat-ti-ya lu-ú aš-ru-uḫ.*

- 3 (I R. 14. 85) *iš-tu nakrû-pl-ut ilu A-šur a-na paṭ gim-ri-šu-nu ⁸⁶a-pi-lu-ú bit ilu Ištār aš-šu-ri-i-tí.....ipu-uš.*

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 (V R. 1. 65) *aš-ši ḫati-ya u-šal-li ilu Aššur u ilu Ištār aššur-i-tí. ⁶⁶Ad-ki-í amīlu í-mu-ki-ya ši-ra-a-tí ša ilu Aššur u ilu Ištār ⁶⁷ú-mal-lu-u ḫatu-u-a.*

Our materials are too few to enable us to give anything like a historical sketch of the worship of Ištār at Aššur. The Ištār of that city is apparently a goddess in the pantheon of Raman-nirari I. (cir. 1315 B. C.). Aššur seems to have been one of the older of the Assyrian cities, and we may be sure both on the grounds of antecedent probability, and from the fact that Ištār of Aššur is cir. 1300 B. C. a chief goddess in a royal pantheon, that her worship at that city extends back to an antiquity considerably more remote.

In Tiglath-pileser I. the references to this Ištār are very distinct. She is for him an important goddess, though perhaps not the chief goddess. He calls Bīlit "the great spouse, the beloved of Aššur." As we have seen in the foregoing section there is some ground for supposing that Bīlit is the Ištār of Nineveh. Does Tiglath-pileser then recognize Aššur and the Ištār of Nineveh as the supreme deities of his land, while with his capital at Aššur, he had the temple of another Ištār at his very doors? This is very improbable. As we have already seen the term *biltu* or *bīlit* like the Canaanite *baal* was originally a title. It is quite as likely that that title was applied by Tiglath-pileser to the Ištār of his own capital as that it should be applied by

§ 2. IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN RAMAN-NIRARI I. CIR. 1325 B. C.

- 1 "Kings and princes Anu, Aššur, Šamaš, Raman and Ištar subdued under his feet."

- 2 "Anu, Bil, Ea, and Ištar, the great gods."

As the inscription in which these passages occur was found at Aššur, I infer that Aššur was Raman-nirari's capital, and that he mentions the Ištar of that city.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN TIGLATH-PILESER I. CIR. 1100 B. C.

- 1 "Ištar, the first born of the gods, the queen of fight(?) the one who gives strength for battle."

- 2 "Which I took as a present(?) to the temple of Bilit, the great spouse, the beloved of Aššur my lord, (to the temples of) Anu, Raman, Ištar of Aššur, the temples of my city Aššur, and of the goddesses of my land, I presented."

- 3 After the enemies of Assur to their farthest limit I had subdued, I built the temple of Ištar of Aššur.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 "I lifted up my hands I besought Aššur and Ištar of Aššur. I mustered my noble forces with which Aššur and Ištar had filled my hand."

Assyrian kings living at Nineveh to the goddess of their own city. We may therefore assume that to Tiglath-pileser Ištar was the supreme goddess who with Aššur her husband watched over his empire and directed the fortunes of himself and his people.

From the time of Tiglath-pileser I. we have no mention of the Ištar of Aššur for nearly 500 years. The capital went back to Nineveh, and the Ištar of that city filled both the royal eye and the royal annals during the succeeding centuries. At last the silence is broken, however, by Assurbanipal. He tells us that on one occasion he prayed to Ištar of Aššur. This assures us that during these five centuries of silence the worship of Ištar had gone on in that city, though perhaps in a less splendid style than at Nineveh owing to royal neglect. After Assurbanipal, silence unbroken closes over the Ištar of Aššur as over everything else Assyrian.

As to the form assumed by the Ištar cult at Aššur we know absolutely nothing. Tiglath-pileser tells us that he "built the temple of Ištar of Aššur," and we infer that he did it with a royal magnificence similar to that displayed by Assur-naširpal I. in the temple of Ištar at Nineveh, but beyond this we have no testimony. We may assume, perhaps, that the rites here were similar to those at Nineveh. We have already seen that this Ištar like the one at Nineveh was probably called the wife of Aššur. We may hence infer that the myths connected with these two Ištars were the same.

We have moreover almost no clue to the religious conceptions connected with the Ištar of Aššur. She is called "the first born of the gods," "the queen of fight

§ 3. IŠTAR OF ARBELA.

MENTION OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN SENNACHERIB 705-681 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 41. 50) *Ilu Aššur ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Bīl ilu Nabu ilu Nergal ilu Ištar ša Nina-ki ilu Ištar ša alu Arba-ili ilāni-pl ti-ik-li-ya.*

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ESARHADDON 681-668 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 45. 4) [*ilu Aššur*] *ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Nabu ilu Marduk ilu Ištar ša Nina-ki ilu Ištar ša Arba-ili-ki ilāni-pl. rabûti-pl.*

- 2 (IV R. 68. Col. III. 15) *A-na-ku ilu Ištar ša alu Arba-ili¹⁶ m Aššur-aḫi-iddina šarri matu ilu Aššur-ki¹⁷ ina alu Aššur alu Nina¹⁸ alu Kal-ḫa alu Arba-ili¹⁹ umi-pl ar-ku-u-ti²⁰ šanāti-pl da-ra-ti²¹ a-na m ilu Aššur-aḫi-iddina šarri-ya²² a-da-an-na. ²³sa-ap-su-up-ta-ka²⁴ rabī-tu a-na-ku²⁵ mu-ši-šu-ta-ka²⁶ di-ik-tu a-na-ku. ²⁷ša ū-mi ar-ku-ti²⁸ šanāti-pl da-ra-ti²⁹ iṣu kussa-ka ina irši-ta šam-ī³⁰ ra-bu-ti uk-ti-iu. ³¹ina ma-si-ki ša ḫuraši³² ina ḫabal šam-ī a-ḫa-ri-di. ³³nu-ur ša il-mi-ši³⁴ ina pan m ilu Aššur-aḫi-iddina šarri matu ilu Aššur³⁵ ū-ša-na-ma-ra. ³⁶ki-i a-gi-ī ša ḫaḫḫadi-ya³⁷ a-ḫa-ri-su. ³⁸la ta-pa-laḫ šarru³⁹ aḫ-ti-ba-ak ⁴³nâru ina tu-ḫu-un-ni⁴⁵ ū-ši-ba-ar-ka.⁴⁶ m ilu Aššur-aḫi-iddina ap-lu⁴⁷ ki-ī-nu apal ilu Bīlit ⁴⁸ina ḫati-ya⁵⁰ amilu nakirî-pl-ka⁵¹ ū-ḫa-at-ta.*

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 (V R. I. 13) *ilu Aššur ilu Bīlit ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Raman ilu Bīl ilu Nabu ilu Ištar ša Nina-ki ilu Šar-rat kid-mu-ri ilu Ištar ša alu Arba-ili-ki ilu Adar ilu Nergal ilu Nusku.*

who gives strength for battle;" hence we know that she was a goddess of productivity—of love, and also a goddess of battle. As we have seen she is classed by two of the kings who worshipped her with Aššur as one of the supreme divinities. As all these conceptions coincide with conceptions entertained at Nineveh with reference to the Ištar of that city, we may infer that had we more information concerning the Ištar of Aššur it would but go to show that in all their attributes the two goddesses were identical. Indeed, Assurbanipal in the passage quoted above speaks of the Ištar of Aššur just as everywhere else he speaks of the Ištar of Nineveh, showing that in his thought they were so alike as to be practically interchangeable.

§3. IŠTAR OF ARBELA.

MENTION OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN SENNACHERIB 705-681 B. C.

- 1 "Aššur, Sin, Šamas, Bil, Nabu, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the gods whom I trust."

This quotation is repeated from p. 138, to recall the fact that Ištar of Arbela was a member of Sennacherib's pantheon.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ESARHADDON 681-668 B. C.

- 1 "Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Nabu, Marduk, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the great gods."

She was, then, a member of Esarhaddon's pantheon.

- 2 "I am Ištar of Arbela, O Esarhaddon, king of Assyria; in Aššur, Nineveh, Kalah (and) Arbela, long days, and everlasting years I will give to Esarhaddon, my king. Thy limbs I enlarge. Thy guide, thy vengeance am I. For long days (and) everlasting years I have established thy throne in earth (and) great heaven. For (my) covering of gold in the midst of the heaven I am careful(?). I will cause the light which surrounds it to shine before Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, like the crown of my head, I will make it bright. Do not fear, O king, I have spoken to thee. The river with certainty I will cause thee to cross. O Esarhaddon, faithful son, son of Bilit. by my hand I will make an end of thy foes," etc.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 "Aššur, Bilit, Sin, Šamaš, Raman, Bil, Nabu, Ištar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Adar, Nergal and Nusku."

This list is repeated from p. 140 to show that Ištar of Arbela was a member of Assurbanipal's pantheon.

- 1 (V R. 3. 4) Ina a-mat *ilu* Istar ⁵a-ši-bat *alu* Arba-ili ša ultu ri-i-ši taḫ-bu-u um-ma ana-ku mi-tu-tu *m* Aḫ-ší-i-ri šarri *matu* Man-na-a-a ki-i ša aḫ-bu-u ip-pu-uš ina ḫata ardāni-*pl*-šu tam-nu-šu-u-ma etc.
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- 2 (V R. 5. 95sq. AS³. p. 118) Ummânâti-ya *naru* Id-id-i a-gu-u šam-ru ⁹⁶i-mu-ru ip-la-ḫu a-na ni-ba-ar-tí. ⁹⁷*ilu* Istar a-ši-bat *alu* Arba-ili ina šat mu-ši ⁹⁸a-na ummânâti-ya šuttu u-šab-ri-ma ⁹⁹ki-a-am iḫ-bi-šu-nu-ti ¹⁰⁰um-ma a-na-ku al-lak ina ma-ḫar *m* *ilu* Aššur-bani-apla ¹⁰¹šarri ša ib-na-a ḫata-a-a, ¹⁰²i-li šutti an-na-ti ummânâti-ya ir-ḫu-šu ¹⁰³*naru* Id-id-i i-bi-ru šal-miš.
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- 3 (III R. 32. 16 sq. Sm. *Assurbanipal*, p. 119 sq.) Ina *arab* Abu arab na-an-ḫar-ti *kakabu* Kašti ¹⁷i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti binat *ilu* Bíl a-na pa-laḫ-ša rab-ti aš-ba-ak ¹⁹ina *alu* Arba-ili ali na-ram lib-bi-ša, ²⁰aš-šu ti-bu-ut *amilu* Ílam-i ša ba-lu ilāni-*pl* it-ba-a ²¹[u-ša]-an-nu-u-ni ti-f-mu ²²um-ma *m* Ti-um-man ki-a-am iḫ-bi ²³šá *ilu* Istar ú-ša-an-nu-u mi-lik ti-mí-šu ²⁴um-ma ul ú-maš-šar a-di a-la-ku ²⁵it-ti-šu í-pu-šu mit-ḫu-šu-ti. ²⁶su-par mi-ri-iḫ-ti an-ni-ti ša *m* Ti-um-man ²⁷iḫ-bu-u am-ḫar [ša]-ḫu-ti *ilu* Iš-tar ²⁸a-zi-ma ana tar-ši-ša, ak-mi-iš ša-pal-ša ²⁹ilu-us-sa ú-ša-ap-pa-a il-la-ka di-ma-a-a ³⁰um-ma bí-lat *alu* Arba-ili a-na-ku *m* *ilu* Aššur-bani-apla šarri *matu* *ilu* Aššur ³¹bi-mi-ut ḫati-kiabu ba-nu-ki ³²a-na ud-du-ši iš-ri-i-tí *matu* *ilu* Aššur-*ki* u šuk-lul ma-ḫa-zi *matu* Akkad-*ki*.....³³a-na-ku aš-ri-i-ki aš-ti-ni-f-a a-li-ka a-na pa-liḫ.....³⁴ú šu-ú *m* Ti-um-man šarri *matu* Ílamtu-*ki* la mu-sa-kir ilāni-*pl* ku.....li a-na.....³⁵um-ma at-ti bí-lat bí-li-i-ti i-mat ḫab-li bí-lat ta-ḫa-zi ma-li-kat ilāni-*pl*.....³⁶ša ina ma-ḫar *ilu* Aššur abi ba-ni-ki damiḫta taḫ-bi-i i-na ni....³⁷iḫ-šu-ḫa-an-ni....³⁸a-na šu-tu-ub lib-bi *ilu* Aššur u nu-uḫ-ḫi ka-bat-ti *ilu* Mar-duk...ru-ur-ru-ki...³⁹aš-šu *m* Ti-um-man šarri *matu* Ílamtu-*ki* ⁴⁰šá a-na *ilu* Aššur....⁴¹abi ba-ni-ki iḫ-tu-u....(a) ú a-na *ilu* Marduk aḫi, ta-li-mi-ki ilu-tu-šu nam.....(b) ú ya-a-ši *m* Aššur-bani-apla ša a-na nu-uḫ lib-bi *ilu* Aššur u.....⁴²id-ka-a ummânâti-šu iḫ-ṣu-ra ta-ḫa-zu ⁴³u-ša-a-a-la *išu* kakki-*pl*-šu a-na alak *matu* *ilu* Aššur-*ki* ⁴⁴um-ma at-ti ḫa-šit-ti ilāni-*pl* kima bílti ⁴⁵ina ḫa-bal tam-ḫa-ri pu-uṭ-ṭi-ri-šu-ma di-kiš-šu mi-ḫu-ú ⁴⁶šâri lim-nu. in-ḫi-ya šu-nu-ḫu-ti *ilu* Istar iš-mí-ma ⁴⁷la ta-pal-luḫ iḫ-ba-a ú-šar-ḫi-za-an-ni lib-bu ⁴⁸a-na ni-iš ḫati-ki ša taš-ša-a iní-ka im-la-a di-im-tú ⁴⁹ar-ta-ši rimu. ina šat mu-ši šu-a-tu ša am-ḫu-ru-ši ⁵⁰išt-in šap-ru-u ú-tu-ul-ma i-na-ṭal šutta ⁵¹i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-šit mu-ši

- 1 "According to the word Ištar, who dwells at Arbela, which from the first she had spoken saying, 'I will accomplish the death of Aḫ-ši-i-ri, king of the Mannaens, according as I said,' she gave him into the hands of his servants."

- 2 "My forces saw the river Ididi, a violent torrent and they were afraid to cross it. Ištar, who dwells at Arbela during an hour of the night, caused my forces to see a dream, and thus she spoke to them saying, 'I am going before Assurbanipal the king, whom my hand has created.' Upon this dream my forces overflowed (with joy) and crossed the Ididi safely."

- 3 "In the month Ab, the month of the appearance(?) of the star, Kaštu (Sagittarius), the feast of the glorious queen, the daughter of Bil, to worship her, the great one, I poured out a libation(?) in Arbela, the city which is the delight of her heart, because concerning the coming of the Elamite who came in opposition to the gods, they brought me news, saying: 'Tiumman thus has said of Ištar' (and) they repeated to me the tenor of his message saying: 'I will not depart until I go with him (Assurbanipal) to make war.' On account of this threat(?) which Tiumman had uttered I prayed to the lofty one, Ištar. I approached into her presence. I bowed beneath her, her divinity I honored, my tears flowed. [I prayed] saying: 'Lady of Arbela, I am Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the creature of thy hands.....the father who begat thee, to restore the temples of Assyria, and complete the cities of Akkad.....I cared for thy courts, I have come to worship.....and he, Tiumman, king of Elam, who does not honor the gods....to.... Thou art the lady of ladies, terrible in onslaught, the lady in battle, the queen of the gods....who in the presence of Aššur the father who begat thee, speakest favor in..... loved me(?)..... To rejoice the heart of Aššur and appease the liver of Marduk...thy *ru-ur-ru*.... As to Tiumman, king of Elam who against Aššur....the father who begat thee has sinned....and against Marduk, the brother, thy companion, his divinity.....and me Assurbanipal, who to give rest to the heart of Aššur and.....he has mustered his forces, he has prepared for war, he has demanded his weapons to march against Assyria. O thou warrioress of the gods, strike him down like a weight in the midst of battle and kill him (as) a storm of evil wind.' My intense supplication Ištar heard, and 'do not fear,' she said, she made my heart confident. 'On account of the lifting up of thy hands which thou hast lifted up, and thy eyes (which) were filled with tears, I grant favor.' In an hour of that night when I prayed to her, a seer, lay down and saw a prophetic(?) dream and Ištar caused him to

ilu Ištar ú-šab-ru-u-šu ⁵²ú-ša-an-na-a ya-a-ti um-ma *ilu* Ištar a-ši-bat *alu* Arba-ili ⁵³í-ru-ub-am-ma imna u šumila tu-ul-la-a-ta iš-pa-a-ti ⁵⁴tam-ḥa-at *išu* kaštu i-na i-di-ša ⁵⁵šal-pat nam-ša-ru kab-tu ša í-piš ta-ḥa-zi. ⁵⁶ma-ḥar-ša ta-zi-iz. ši-i ki-ma umma ⁵⁷a-lit-ti i-tam-ma-a it-ti-ka ⁵⁸í-si-ka. *ilu* Ištar ša-ku-ut ilâni-*pl* i-šak-kan-ka ti-f-mu ⁵⁹um-ma ta-na-ṭa-la a-na í-piš ša-aš-ši ⁶⁰a-šar pa-nu-ki šak-nu. ti-ba-ku a-na-ku ⁶¹at-ta ta-ḫab-bi-ši um-ma a-šar tal-la-ki ⁶²it-ti-ki lul-lik. bílat bílîti-*pl* ši-i tu-ša-an-nak-ka umma at-ta a-ḫan-na ⁶⁴u aš-ba-ta a-šar maš-kan-i *ilu* Nabu. ⁶⁵a-kul a-ka-lu ši-ti ku-ru-un-nu ⁶⁶nin-gu-ut šu-kunn u'-u-id ilu-ti, ⁶⁷a-di al-la-ku šip-ru šu-a-tu ip-pu-šu. ⁶⁸u-šak-ša-du šu-mí-rat lib-bi-ka. ⁶⁹pa-nu-u-ka ul ur-rak ul i-nir-ru-da šipi-ka, ⁷⁰ul ta-ú-rid šu-par-ka. ⁷¹ina ḳabal tam-ḥa-ri ina ki-rim-mi ša ṭabti taḫ-zi-in-ka-ma. ⁷²taḫ-tí-na gi-mir la-a-ni-ka ⁷³pa-nu-uš-ša išatu in-na-pi-ih a-na ka-ša-ad *amilu* nakirî-*pl*-[ka].

- 1 (I R. 8, No. 2, Pinches' *Texts*, p. 17 sq.) *alu* Arba-ili šu-bat *ilu* Ištar bit i-sin-na-a-ti ši(?).....²šá ul-tu ul-la duri-šu la ib-šu la šuk-lu-la [šal-ḫu-u-šu]. ³du-ri-šu ar-šip-ma u-šak-lil šal-ḫu-u-šu lu-li-í [uš-mal-li] ⁴bit *ilu* Ištar bilti-ya ina šarpi ḫuraši íri ú-nam-mir ki-ma ū-mi ⁵īšu šu-ri-in-ni bâb bit *ilu* Iš-tar šarpu ḫurašu ú-ša í-in-ma az-kup. ⁶*Alu* IS-KI-A ikal širi mu-šab *ilu* Ištar an-ḫu-us-su ud-diš. ⁷ī-a bit-su ar-šip ala a-na gi-mir-ti-šu ú-šak-lil.

ASTRONOMICAL REPORTS.

- 1 (III R. 51, No. 5) ¹A-na šarri bíli-ya ²ardu-ka *m ilu* Ištar-[iddin-apla] ³*am-ilu* rab-u-tí ⁴šá *alu* Arba-ili. ⁵lu-u šul-mu ⁶a-na šarri bíli-ya. ⁷*ilu* Nabu *ilu* Marduk ⁸*ilu* Ištar šá *alu* Arba-ili ⁹a-na šarri bíli-ya ¹⁰lik-ru-bu. ¹¹ina ūmi XXIX *kan* ¹²ma-šar-tu ¹³ni-ta-ša-ar ¹⁴*ilu* Sin la ni-mur. ¹⁶ina araḫ Duzu, ūmi II *kan* ¹⁷lim-mu *m* Bíl-šu-nu ¹⁸*am-ilu* bíl *alu* Ḫi-in-da-na.

- 1 (III R. 51, No. 6 and Del. AL³, p. 122) ¹A-na šarri bíli-ya ²ardu-ka *m ilu* Ištar-iddin-aplu ³*amilu* rab-u-ti ⁴šá *amilu* barî-*pl* ⁵šá *alu* Arba-ili. ⁶lu-u šul-mu ⁷a-na šarri bíli-ya. ⁸*ilu* Nabu *ilu* Marduk ⁹*ilu* Ištar ša *alu* Arba-ili ¹⁰a-na šarri bíli-ya ¹¹lik-ru-bu ¹²ina ūmi XXIX. *kan* ¹³ma-šar-tu ¹⁴ni-ta-ša-ar ¹⁵bi-it ta-mar-ti ¹⁶urpatu. ¹⁸*ilu* Sin la ni-mur ²⁰araḫ Šabaṭu ūmi I. *kan* ²¹lim-nu *m* Bíl-ḫarran-šad-u-a.

see a vision of the night and he announced it to me, saying: 'Ištar, who dwells at Arbela, entered and (on her) right and left she was behung with quivers, she was holding a bow in her hand, she brandished a heavy sword to make war. Thou wast sitting before her. She like the mother who bore (thee) was speaking to thee, (and) talking with thee. Ištar, the exalted one of the gods was appointing thee a message, saying: 'Thou shalt look for making war(?) at the place which lies before thee(?). I am coming.' Thou wast answering her saying: 'Where thou goest I will go with thee, O lady of ladies.' She repeated to thee, saying: 'Thou there(?) verily thou inhabitest the place of the dwelling of Nebo. Eat food, drink wine, appoint rejoicing, exalt my divinity until I go, (and) this mission accomplish.... I will cause thee to accomplish the wish of thy heart. Thy face he shall not harm, thy feet he shall not resist, nor thy rejoicing(?) come to nought' (lit. descend). In the midst of battle she arms thee with the desolation of her goodness, and gives the *butnu* weapon(?) to all who dwell(?) with thee. Before her a fire is blown to capture thy foes.'"

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- 1 "Arbela, ¹the dwelling of Ištar, the fortified(?) house.....²whose wall from ancient time had not existed, its rampart was not complete, its wall I built its rampart I finished (I filled) with *luḫi*. The house of Ištar my lady with silver, gold and bronze I made bright as the day. The *šurinni* wood of the gate of the house of Ištar with silver and gold, I made good, I raised up. Iš-KI-A, the lofty palace, the dwelling of Ištar—its decay I repaired. In her house I built up. I completed the city to its whole extent.

ASTRONOMICAL REPORTS.

- 1 "Unto the king my lord, thy servant Ištariddinpal, the chief of Arbela. May there be peace to the king, my lord. May Nabu, Marduk and Ištar of Arbela to the king my lord be gracious. On the 29th day the watch was kept, the moon was not seen. (Dated) in the month Duzu, 2d day, in the eponym of Bilšunu, prefect of Khindana."

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- 1 "To the king my lord, thy servant Ištariddinpal, chief of the astronomers of Arbela. May peace be to the king my lord. May Nabu, Marduk (and) Ištar of Arbela to the king my lord be gracious. On the 29th day the watch was kept. In the field of observation was a cloud. The moon was not seen. (Dated) month Šebāt, 1st day, eponym of Billsharranšadua."

As appears from the above quotations, the time, during which the Ištar of Arbela is known to us historically, is confined to about eighty years, 705–626 B. C. There is no certain reference to her before the reign of Sennacherib, and between that time and the close of Assurbanipal's reign the monuments tell us all they have to say about her. Ištar of Arbela appears to us for the first time in Sennacherib's pantheon, but apart from his list of gods, we find no mention of her in his reign. In Esarhaddon we have outside of his list of gods only an oracle coming from her, while most of our knowledge of her comes from the Augustan age of Assurbanipal. We must not, however, infer too much from silence, as it is probable that there had been a shrine of Ištar at Arbela long before the days of Sennacherib; at least in Assurbanipal's time he could speak of renewing its decay. The fact, however, that until Sennacherib, Ištar of Arbela does not appear in the list of the gods of the royal pantheon, would seem to indicate that until that time or just before it she had not been considered as distinct from the Ištar of Nineveh. As we have seen the Ištars of Nineveh and Aššur were practically the same in all their characteristics, and it would seem that in early Assyrian history the Ištar of Arbela was not sharply distinguished from these; but as Yahweh was worshipped in Israel in the days of the kings at Jerusalem, at Bethel, and at Dan, so Ištar was worshipped in Assyria at Aššur, Nineveh, and Arbela. Gradually, however, a distinction grew up, so that the Ištars of Nineveh and Arbela were to Sennacherib two distinct divinities, each represented in his pantheon by different designations. Gradually too, different myths grew up around the Ištar of Arbela, and as we shall see later the religious conceptions connected with her were of a much more limited character than in the case of the other Ištars.

As to the mythological representations connected with this Ištar, she is called the daughter of Aššur,* and the sister of Marduk, whereas the Ištar of Nineveh was the daughter of Sin, the sister of Šamaš and the wife of Aššur. This change of mythological statement seems to point, for its growth, to the lapse of considerable time after the worship of Ištar was established at Arbela. The fact that Ištar is here called the daughter of Aššur seems to point: 1, to a comparatively late development of the distinction between this and the other Assyrian Ištars, and 2, to a consciousness that the worship of Ištar under the restricted conceptions to which she was confined at Arbela, was a peculiarly Assyrian development.

As to the form assumed by the cult of Ištar at Arbela we know almost nothing. There was a temple, which as repaired by Assurbanipal was decorated with gold, silver and bronze, and there seems to have been connected with its tower an

* It will be noticed that Ištar is also called the daughter of Bil, thus making Bil and Aššur refer to the same deity and giving ground for the statement made, *supra*, § 1.

astronomical observatory from which reports were sent to the king. We do not know how the oracle of this Ištar was conveyed to Esarhaddon, but it was, perhaps, through priests or priestly seers. The passage in her message to Assurbanipal through the seer, which reads, "Eat food, drink wine, appoint rejoicing, exalt my divinity," would seem to imply that there were seers connected with her worship and that her worship still consisted of joyful sacrificial feasts, as we found reason to believe that that of the Ištar of Nineveh did, in the days of Esarhaddon.

Ištar of Arbela was considered "the glorious queen," "the lady of ladies," "the exalted one of the gods," "the resister of onslaught" and "the warriorress of the gods." It would appear from the fact that she is called the daughter of Aššur, but not the wife or beloved of any deity, that she was a virgin goddess as was the Greek Artemis. She would be thought of, then, as a virgin queen who was a goddess of war pure and simple. She is called nowhere, the first born of the gods, or a mother of gods or men, but is an out-and-out war goddess armed with a bow, quiver, and sword, and before whom a fire is blown to devour the enemies of her worshippers. We must not press this point, however, as it is based largely on silence, and even if she were a virgin goddess she might even in that character in a Semitic cult foster unmarried love.

While she is particularly the goddess who gives oracles, she often reveals her will through dreams. She sends a dream to the forces of Assurbanipal when they fear to cross a river, and when he prays for help a seer is sent by means of a dream to convey to him the cheering message of the goddess. This seems to be a favorite method of communication between the supernatural and man in the days of Assurbanipal. Compare the vision of Aššur to Gyges of Lydia, V R. 2. 95sq.

In their dreams, however, the conception of Ištar was naturally anthropomorphic. The seer sees her talking with Assurbanipal like the mother who bore him, while he sat at her feet.

[To be continued in next Number.]